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When there is identification, the peculiar qualities of these minor or regional deities appear as attributes of *ñenechen*, or they themselves might be raised to the same level as *ñenechen*, the rationale being that these are simply different names for the same god. This again seems to be a syncretism resulting from Christian influence, but it is, as always, problematical to what extent the Mapuche really order their concepts of the godhead in a Christianized framework. On occasion, any deity may be described as *a ñenechen*, and the expression *wesa* (evil) *ñenechen* is also employed—all of which sheds doubt on any deep penetration of Christian ideas.

Nenemapun is said to make the earth and to rule the earth, which is sometimes said of *ñenechen*. *Elchen* or *elchen chau* is spoken of as the "maker of the people" and the "father of the people." Sometimes *ñenemapun* and *elchen* are equated with *ñenechen*, most often not. It is said that one term is older than the others and therefore more correct, depending on the context in which they are used. The Mapuche frequently resort to historico-linguistic explanations of this sort to reconcile—before the outsider—contradictory or overlapping terminology and concepts. Within these limits, there is a marked consistency with which the word *ñenechen* is used in Mapuche ritual expression.

The gods have wives and children. In most cases Mapuche logic seems to attribute patriarchal qualities to the gods simply in order to round out the universe. Wives of the gods are never important figures, either in myth or during ceremonies. The same may be said for most of the sons of the gods (that gods have daughters seems no more than a logical Mapuche extension, for these are of no apparent mythical or ritual importance); but the sons of certain gods, especially the *karuhua*, are of great importance. *Nenechen* is married to an old woman called *ñenechen kushe*, whose attributes are far inferior to those of her husband. *Pillan*, sometimes equated with Satan, the god of thunder or of the volcanoes, has *pillan kushe* beside him. Her powers are at most complementary to those of her husband. There are no female deities with great or special powers, unless one consider the familiar spirits of shamans as such. They

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777 782 the like is not attributed to any specific force of evil, but rather to a pervading malevolence and a feeling that *ñenechen* has been insufficiently or imperfectly propitiated. There is a partial acceptance of hardship and an attempt to supplicate *ñenechen* in public ceremonial, in order to control the machinations of the [791] collective *wekufe*, generalized evil. Failure of ceremonial appeal [793] may result in some diminution of faith in the efficacy of the priest (*ñillatufe*) who conducts the ritual, but it does not seem to lessen belief in the general body of religious lore and ritual [754] action. If anything, it seems to heighten concern with sorcery [789] and the forces of evil that plague humanity. The failure of public ritual in some cases encourages persons to seek additional individual protection through shamanistic assistance.

776 795 *Wekufe* is the generic term for all malevolent spirits and forces in the world. As a descriptive device, since the Mapuche do not order as much as they lump these forces of evil, they may be categorized as animistic and placed into three groups: animals, natural phenomena, and ghosts. Any evil spirit has the power, or is able through the manipulation of a *kalku*, to assume the form of a being representative of any of the three groups, and to make itself visible and invisible at will. These spirits or forces are abroad mostly at night, although they may be active in 754 the daytime as well. They are all at some time or other under the 775 control of a sorcerer, but if mistreated they have enough power 776 of their own to operate freely against her, should she be off-guard. They may even be able to kill her. Although there is a general feeling that witches never die, there is the contradictory notion that they may be killed through the agency of the forces [756] they have failed to control. Shamans may thwart the designs of witches, but they are seldom felt to have enough power to kill them, that is, make a witch's familiar spirits consume her. After 683 all the bits of data are sifted, Mapuche logic forces the [811] conclusion that the only way a *kalku* may die, without being [613] killed by a rebellious spirit, is to be executed by a human with the consent of a local descent group. But even with regard to this matter there is not complete agreement, some Mapuche feeling that only the corporeal part of the witch is destroyed, while the evil soul remains to cause grief elsewhere. Formerly, as [778] described in the literature and in oral accounts, witches were